

Shorthand Record of the Proceedings of the
House of Representatives in the 75th Session
of the Imperial Diet

Speech of Mr. SAITO, Takao, Member - 3 Feb 1940

It is two years and a half since the China Incident broke out, and, in the meanwhile, the situation at home and abroad has become serious. At this juncture, the ABE Cabinet resigned en bloc on the 14th of January, just when the House was sitting; and the present Cabinet was formed. Two weeks since its formation, the new Cabinet has assembled here at the Diet for the first time. I fully sympathize with the Prime Minister and the members of the Cabinet for their troubles and concerns, and at the same time, sincerely wish them well for our nation's sake.

Prime Minister YONAI announced to the world the policies of his Cabinet immediately after its formation. We are well acquainted with the policies through the papers. However, the so-called policies were but an array of titles and it was added that the various policies would be further explained in the present Imperial Diet. Therefore, I listened to the Premier's address yesterday, but it was still an abstract outline. Needless to say, we cannot grasp the ambitions and the administration of the present Cabinet. However, I do not have time at present to inquire into all of the problems; firstly, the disposition of the China Incident; secondly, international problems; and thirdly, internal affairs; so I would like to ask the Premier's opinion chiefly on matters concerning the disposal of the China Incident which is the centre of all problems, and at the same time offer my humble opinion.

I do not need to repeat here that the disposal of the China Incident is a very important problem. There is no other political problem more important than this for our country. Furthermore, all the internal and foreign policies of today are centered around the China Incident and are revolving around it. Therefore, what the whole nation, not mentioning ourselves, desires to hear, is this problem. How will the China Incident develop? When will it end? How long will it continue? The Government states that it will settle the Incident, but in what manner? The people want to but cannot ask the government, and I think there is not a single man who is not looking forward to the answer which will surely be given in this session. The KONOYE Cabinet resigned without being able to settle the Incident which it started itself. The HIRANUMA Cabinet was such as you all know. The ABE Cabinet was the first to officially announce that they would do their best to dispose of the Incident. However, they resigned without even showing the least bid of disposal to the people. The present cabinet is given the first opportunity to reveal to the public the inside of this problem through the present session of the Diet. Here, I would like to question the Prime Minister very frankly. He states he is going to settle the Incident, but to what extent will his disposal be carried out, and what is the nature of his plans. These are the points that I would like to ask. If I were to give my opinion frankly, I think I can certainly say that as to the present Incident there was miscalculation on the part of Japan, not mentioning that of the Chinese.

That is, on the part of our country, we at first held the so-called policy of settling the affair on the spot, and non-expansion, but we were directly disappointed by the provocative actions on the part of China. Since then, the incident has kept developing day and night, and has made rapid expansion until it has come to the present situation. The miscalculations on the part of China need not be explained here. The following is an article which I would like to quote as a reference. It is taken from the Weekly Gazette published by the Cabinet Board of Information on the 13th of December last year. In this copy, is printed an article by the chief of the Intelligence Section of the General Headquarters of the Expeditionary Forces in China, the title of which is "The Disposers of the China Incident". When we scan through it to see what is written in it, the writer says that, "In the first place, the lack of knowledge of Japan on the part of China, especially CHIANG Kai-shek, and the miscalculation of the actual strength of Japan started the present war, and Japan's lack of study and lack of knowledge of China helped to foster it." That is, this incident was started and developed through the lack of knowledge on both sides. However, on the other hand, even if there had not been this lack of knowledge, there was hidden somewhere between Japan and China, the root of evil, which would have given rise to a great conflict sooner or later. The time was ripe and the illegal shooting by the Chinese at the Marco Polo Bridge in North China merely acted as the impetus to a greater explosion. This was inevitable, it is what we call 'fate', fate which had been estranging the two countries. This cannot be helped, but since then, the Incident has kept on developing, and now as the strength of the two countries and the final consequence of the conflict are already decided, the incident could be wound up as quickly as possible, and all roots of evil interposing between the two countries should be completely eradicated so that another such Incident might never arise, if possible. It is not the responsibility of the Japanese politicians alone to accelerate the restoration of peace in this way, but also the responsibility of the Chinese politicians. At this point, the problem is how can we eradicate the roots of evil, and in what way can we best guarantee the future security. We must consider the standpoint of Japan as well as that of China. Well, here is one thing which we must never forget even for a moment when considering the disposal of the China Incident. What is this one thing? It is no other than the great sacrifice of our nation and our people through the past two years and a half in the carrying out of the present Incident. The sacrifice offered by our people during this period, that is, one or two million of our men fighting in the various places of that land over the sea in the first place, and on the other hand, the sacrifices of lives, liberty, property and many other things offered by our people supporting the soldiers at the front; even the most eloquent speaker on this platform cannot express a ten thousandth part of this great sacrifice. (Applause) And furthermore, this great sacrifice is not yet over today. No one can foretell at the present stage how long this will continue and how many years must come and go. Although the present conflict is called an incident, it is in reality a war, and we have never engaged in such a great war since the establishment of our country. Therefore, the greatness of the sacrifice as well as the greatness of the results of the war are astounding. The Minister of War stated in his speech here in this chamber yesterday that as to the actual situation of our army in China, the territory occupied by them covers more than two times

the area of Japan. Let us reflect on how these areas were occupied. It is all the results of the desperate fighting of our courageous, loyal and daring Imperial Army. In other words, one hundred thousand men lost their lives on the battlefield to gain this end. And several hundred thousand men and officers are suffering from wounds. Millions of the Imperial Army still remain in the battlefield and must be undergoing countless hardships. Without keeping in mind this victory so dearly bought, and the actual situation thus brought about, no one has the right to discuss the disposal of the Incident. (Applause) As you gentlemen all know, Japan had fought with China forty years ago. Thirty years ago she fought with Russia. These wars were, of course, wars on which she staked her national destiny. However, compared to the present conflict, they cannot be classified together, for the greatness in scale and sacrifice of the present conflict far exceeds that of the two former wars. It is unnecessary to state here with what conditions peace was restored at the time of these wars as it is clearly written down in history. Therefore, it is necessary to complete the disposal of the Incident by consulting the history of the past and the future mission of Japan in East Asia. If not based on these foundations, all the people of Japan, not to mention the soldiers at the front, will never acknowledge it. (Applause) What I would like to ask is whether the Government is prepared for it or not. Prime Minister YONAI has stated that a fixed and immutable policy for the disposal of the Incident has already been established. I would like to ask what that policy is. It must be the so-called KONOYE Statement. It is a matter of course that the KONOYE Statement of December of the year before last is the immutable policy for the disposal of the Incident. However, I have had some doubt about the KONOYE Statement from the very first. In order that these words may not give rise to misunderstandings, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that it is not all of a sudden that I became opposed to the KONOYE Statement. But neither am I in favor of it. I wish to consider the matter after I hear the Government's explanation and decide my attitude towards the statement. (Applause) I mean to make inquiries today. Inquiry is, as the Chinese characters themselves show, to inquire into doubtful matters. Therefore, I request of you all to listen to me in this sense. When we consider what is included in the KONOYE Statement, we can give five major points. The first is to respect the sovereignty of China. The second is not to claim territorial or monetary reparations. The third is that Japan will not exercise economic monopoly in the economic field. The fourth is that Japan will not request China to put a limit to the rights of the third powers in China. The fifth is the withdrawal of Japanese troops from all areas except Inner Mongolia and the nearby districts which are the defense areas against Communism. The above five items are the essentials included in the KONOYE Statement. This KONOYE Statement is not announced to Japan alone, nor to China alone, but to the whole world, so under no circumstances, can we alter it. This statement allows no alteration. If perchance, we were to alter a part of it, our international credit would be utterly shaken. That is not all, for as you all know, WANG Ching-wei responded to this statement and arose to take the lead. In other words, he is endeavoring to establish a new government under the banner of the 'preservation of the nation through peace' which is based on the KONOYE Statement. Since then, he has often made statements and when we read these statements, we see that he is interpreting the KONOYE Statement absolutely literally. If we put together the expressions used in his frequent statements, we can reach the following conclusion. If the

condition is such as is stated in the KONOYE Statement, it would not be disadvantageous to China. By this statement Japan has completely abandoned her aggressive policy. He says that up to the present, Japan has been following an aggressive policy, but by the KONOYE Statement, she has given it up. Japan's abandonment of her aggressive policy means, in other words, that she will not aim at military conquest or economic monopoly. As Japan is giving reconsideration amidst warfare, China should also reflect on her attitude, and work for the speedy realization of peace. And this kind of peace must be established on an absolutely equal footing. The attitude of the victorious towards the subjugated should be entirely abandoned. Therefore, the conditions of peace would not infringe on the independence and liberty of China, so no one can impede the realization of peace. When we interpret and put together the words of his statement, we reach the above-mentioned conclusion. He made public this statement and since then, for over a year, he has been doing his best, in the peace movement. For this reason, he has been suffering from countless persecutions from the Chinese people in general and from the faction of CHIANG Kai-shek, but even under these assaults and persecutions, he has been staking his life for the peace movements. Therefore, from his standpoint, he can never turn his back to this statement, for his changing colors would mean the total collapse of the peace movement and also of the establishment of the new Regime. Here, I wish to ask the Government the extent and nature of the disposal of the China Incident. Here again, I will repeat that since we have declared our intention to fully respect the independent sovereignty of China, we cannot do anything to intervene in the internal and foreign affairs of China in the future. If we were to intervene in Chinese affairs, the independent sovereignty of China would be infringed upon on the spot. We have no territorial designs. Neither will we request monetary reparations. I do not know exactly how much money Japan expended for the China Incident. However, the military expenditure which we have approved here in this House amounts to ¥ 12,000,000,000 up to the present. If we add the expenditure for the next fiscal year, it would total ¥ 17,000,000,000 and we cannot foretell how much we might need in the future, whether it would amount to ¥ 20,000,000,000 or ¥ 30,000,000,000 or more than that. And yet, we cannot get even a penny of these military expenses from China, and all the responsibility will fall on the Japanese people. It would certainly make the future of our people difficult. As for economical development, Japan will not monopolize it. The economic development of China is advocated, but here again, Japan must not monopolize it. Japan will not request the Chinese Government to set a limit on the rights of the third powers. But, what have the Japanese politicians declared to the public? They have been saying that the object of the present Incident is to drive out the European and American powers from China and to free her from the situation of a colony of an European and American powers and from the exploitation of such powers, and return to China once more all that has been taken. All these would prove to be but false declarations quite contrary to the KONOYE Statement. Furthermore, it speaks of the complete withdrawal of the Japanese troops from the occupied areas. I cannot see what will remain after this. Especially, WANG Ching-wei is laying great importance on the withdrawal of the Japanese troops. In his first statement, he says that the specially important point in the KONOYE Statement is the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China. He further adds that this withdrawal of the Japanese troops must be directed immediately and the whole army dispersed in various places must be withdrawn all at the same time. However,

during the period that the Japanese-Chinese Anti-Communism Pact is in effect, the so-called special territory where the Japanese will be stationed must be limited to Inner Mongolia and its vicinity. WANG Ching-wei states as above when we compare this with the KONOYE Statement, there is not the slightest mistake in it. However, the above means that in carrying out the peace movements in cooperation with the new regime, the whole of the Japanese troops will be withdrawn from the occupied zone in China. All the Japanese troops will withdraw from the whole of the occupied zone excepting Inner Mongolia and its vicinity in the corner of North China. It means the withdrawal of troops from the occupied area where for over two years and one half, our Imperial Army had advanced valiantly, defying all hardships, backed by the support of the whole nation. Is this the purport of the KONOYE Statement? Does the Government intend to carry out the purport just as it is? I would like to hear the explanations of the Prime Minister and the Ministers in charge of military affairs on these points.

Next, I would like to say that the expression, 'establishment of a new order in East Asia', is frequently repeated when mentioning the disposal of the China Incident. This expression has also been repeated countless times in this House since yesterday. Originally, this expression did not exist at the beginning of the Incident. This expression was first used in the Statement of the KONOYE Cabinet, issued on the 3rd of November, the year before last, that is, about a year and one half after the outbreak of the Incident. What is meant by the establishment of a new order in East Asia was defined in the Foreign Ministers speech yesterday. Recently, the use of the expression of 'the establishment of a new order' is not confined to Asia alone, but has also been used in Europe several years. However, the establishment of a new order in Europe is, in short, the demand of the nations without land or nations possessing much territory to divide their territory with them, that is, a kind of international communism. However, the actual situation is entirely contrary to that idea, and the great powers oppress the weak countries, persecute them and absorb them. In a sense, we can call it the stronger preying on the weaker. The establishment of a new order in Europe loses all its significance when things come to this, and it becomes something incoherent. However, we need not bother about European affairs. We need not worry ourselves over the establishment of a new order in Europe. What we must define is the nature of the establishment of a new order in Asia. When we compare the KONOYE Statement with WANG Ching-wei's corresponding statement, we see that three matters are included in them. The three items are: First, friendly relations between neighboring countries; second, joint defense against communism; and the third, economic cooperation. These three are the items given up until now in the official documents on the nature of the establishment of a new order. I would like to hear whether the government thinks similarly. As the establishment of a new order is lauded among the public and among the government officials, I would like the government to make clear whether the nature of the new order is completely expressed in the above three points, or whether there is something more to it. If there is not, it is all right. If there is I would like to hear it. If you say that you cannot announce it, even though there is something more, then that is all right too. In any case, I will be satisfied if I am told the opinions of the Government on the nature of this 'establishment of a new order in East Asia' which is the object of this war and sacrifice, so loudly and emphatically proclaimed.

I would like to ask a few more questions relative to the establishment of a new order in East Asia. I have here the outline of the draft report of the new order in East Asia, published on the 11th of December, last year. This is a draft report carefully discussed in a committee of the Board of China Affairs specially organized for this purpose. On reading this, we find many words too difficult for us to understand. For instance, Imperialistic supreme command, 'shirasu' /to rule with mercy/ and not 'ushihaku' /to rule with force/ is the fundamental principle of our Imperial Way, the ideal of the Chinese rule of right, and the Imperial policy of 'HAKKOICHIU' are all very difficult and sound something like a lecture on spiritual matters. To us, who are actually engaged in politics, it is almost incomprehensible. (Applause) So much for this, and returning to the main subject, how is it that it has become necessary recently to organize a special committee to study what you would call the principle, theory or the spiritual basis of the establishment of the new order in East Asia. The establishment of a new order in East Asia is the object of this great war and this great sacrifice. We cannot understand why the object of this sacrifice and this war, that is, the establishment of a new order in East Asia came into existence for the first time a year and one half after the beginning of the Incident, neither can we understand why a committee had to be especially organized a year after that to study the principle, theory or the spiritual basis. (Applause) I would like to ask the president of the Board of China Affairs if not the Prime Minister, why they have specially organized a committee and have begun the study on these matters.

- - - - -

Minister of State (HATA, Shunroku)

The object of the present Incident is to completely destroy the pro-communist anti-Japanese Regime to restore peace in East Asia and to realize friendly relations, joint defense against communism and economic cooperation between Japan, Manchukuo and China, thereby establishing a new order in East Asia and manifesting the great ideal of HAKKOICHIU which has been our national policy from the time of the foundation of the Empire. This is the reason why the Incident is called the 'sacred war'. It is fundamentally different from so-called war of aggression, the nature of which is the stronger preying on the weaker. (Applause) Every member of the Army, not to mention the one million men of our Imperial Army, stationed in China is fulfilling his respective duties with this faith, and is doing his best to accomplish this great and sacred task. And the one hundred thousand soldiers who have lost their lives in the battlefields died for this faith serenely and composedly. I will clearly state here that they did not even slightly doubt the fundamental policy for the disposal of the Incident. I deeply regret that even today there are still some doubts concerning the object of the Incident. Therefore, I have taken this opportunity to make my own convictions clear.

C E R T I F I C A T E

W.D.C. No. _____

I.P.S. No. 3055Statement of Source and Authenticity

I, YAMAZAKI, Takashi, hereby certify that I am officially connected with the Japanese Government in the following capacity: Director of the General Affairs Division of the House of Representatives and that as such official I have custody of the document hereto attached consisting of 1--7 pages, dated _____, 1940. and described as follows: Minutes (Shorthand) No. 5 dated February 3, 1940 of the Plenary Session of the House of Representatives in the 75th Session of the Imperial Diet.

I further certify that the attached record and document is an official document of the Japanese Government, and that it is part of the official archives and files of the following named ministry or department (specifying also the file number or citation, if any, or any other official designation of the regular location of the document in the archives or files): _____

Signed at the House of Representatives on this12th day of August, 1947./s/ Takashi Yamazaki /seal/
Signature of OfficialDirector of the General Affairs Division
of the House of Representatives.Witness: /s/ Tsugio Tokeo /seal/_____
Official CapacityStatement of Official Procurement

I, Henry A. Dolan, Jr, hereby certify that I am associated with the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, and that the above certification was obtained by me from the above signed official of the Japanese Government in the conduct of my official business.

Signed at Tokyo on this14th day of Aug., 1947/s/ Henry A. Dolan, Jr.
NAMEWitness: Johnson F. MunroeIPS Inv. Div.
Official Capacity

Nov 30 55

アアアアス 併ニ改定已ニトナラセテ 皇 威 威 威
於此新秩序建設ナリト云フ 顧ル必要ナキ此
事ニ於テ新秩序建設 内容ニ如何ニモガ
是モ近衛 聲明 及び之ニ呼ビテマシムル所、正非銘氏
聲明ヲ并ニ見、ルニ新秩序建設ニハ第一、
事柄ヲ令テ定ムル所、何テモ、蓋シ隣邦
ニフニテ、オニハ共同防共デアレ、オニハ経済提携デ
アリ、是ガ是ニテ、心文書 觀ニテ、見ル所、新秩序建
設ノ内、オニハオニハ、政府、見ル所、モ之ニ相違ナシ
アリ、新秩序建設ト云フテ、朝野、向ニ於テ、優ニ認
テ、見ル所、アリ、オニハ、新秩序建設、実体、ハ迅速ニ三
フ、コトニ過ギナシ、デアレ、尚、ホ、此、外、何、モ、ナシ、テ、
オニハ、宜シ、アル、ナリ、ソ、ウ、テ、見、ル、所、ア、ツ、テ、言、フ、
言、ハ、ル、ナ、ラ、ス、ソ、モ、宜、シ、ク、免、ニ、用、是、ホ、ト、ナ、ク、是、ホ、ト、
高調、セ、ラ、ル、所、戦争、目的、デアリ、犧牲、目的、
所、東亞新秩序建設、実体、ハ、政府、見ル所、何、
ア、カ、之、ヲ、承、テ、電、ニ、宜、シ、テ、ア、リ、マ、ス

No. 10

之ニ関聯シテ、御尋ラシ、宜シ、コト、ガ、アル、此、處、ニ、昨、年
二、月、十、日、附、ラ、シ、テ、發表、セ、ラ、ル、東亞新秩序答申案
要旨ト云フ、モ、ガ、アル、是、ハ、興亞院ニ於テ、委員、会、ヲ、設、テ、
審議、セ、ラ、ル、所、莫、ク、答申案、デアリ、マ、ス、之、ヲ、見、マ、ス、ト
云、フ、ト、吾、々、ニ、サ、シ、テ、難、カ、シ、テ、令、ラ、シ、テ、文、句、ガ、大、分、違、ハ、
即、チ、皇、道、的、皇、上、命、令、ニ、シ、テ、非、ス、ニ、テ、マ、ス、コ、ト、ヲ、
本義、ト、ス、ル、コ、ト、ハ、我、ガ、皇、道、根、本、原、則、支、那、王、道、理、想

Doc 3055

No. 11

（第一）皇讓、中々是、難カニテ、精神講話、ヤ
ノ簡、ニ、テ、アリ、ミ、私、其、定、際、政治ニ、頭、ヲ、定、込、ニ、テ
應、者、ニ、中、々、理、解、ニ、難、イ、ラ、リ、ミ、（拍子）併、ニ、ソ、ノ、別
ト、故、ニ、ミ、近、頃、ニ、ミ、ミ、東、亞、新、秩、序、建、設、ノ、原、理、原
則、ト、ミ、精、神、的、基、礎、ト、ミ、稱、ス、ミ、特、ニ、委、員、會、ニ、テ
ミ、設、テ、ミ、研、究、ニ、テ、ク、ス、ミ、タ、ラ、ミ、ト、云、フ、コ、ト、一、件、ド、ウ、云、フ、コ、ト
ミ、ミ、東、亞、新、秩、序、建、設、ノ、此、ノ、大、戰、争、此、ノ、大、犧、牲
ノ、目、的、ニ、テ、ル、テ、ミ、サ、イ、ミ、又、此、ニ、此、ノ、犧、牲、戰、争、ノ、目、的、ニ、テ、
ミ、ル、所、ノ、東、亞、新、秩、序、建、設、ガ、事、業、必、要、約、一、年、半、
後、ニ、於、テ、初、メ、現、シ、ミ、一、年、後、ニ、於、テ、特、ニ、委、員、會
ニ、テ、ミ、設、テ、ミ、其、原、理、原、則、精、神、的、基、礎、ヲ、研、究、ニ、
テ、ク、ス、ミ、タ、ラ、ミ、ト、云、フ、コ、ト、其、ニ、於、テ、ド、ウ、カ、ミ、受、取、テ、ミ、
テ、アリ、ミ、（拍子）此、點、ノ、總、理、人、臣、ニ、限、ラ、ス、興、亞、院
ノ、總、裁、ヲ、宜、シ、イ、テ、下、リ、ミ、タ、ラ、ミ、何、故、興、亞、院、ニ、於、テ、
特、ニ、委、員、會、ニ、テ、ミ、設、テ、ミ、斯、ク、云、フ、コ、ト、研、究、ニ、著、手、
セ、ラ、シ、ミ、タ、ラ、ミ、之、ヲ、聽、イ、ミ、電、通、サ、シ、イ、テ、アリ、ミ、

Dec 30 55

32

1000 1000 1000

Handwritten: *Handwritten, illegible*

國醫集腋

養廉公正圖

余、山崎、高、令。下記、資料ニ於テ、部々蒙議
院庶務部長トシ、日本政府ト公的関係ニ在リテ、
ルコト、並ニ該官吏トシ、余ガ茲ニ添附スルモノ、二頁
ヲ成シ、千九百四〇年、昭和十五年、附「記題名
郎々等立書國議會學識院議事彙編」録キ、昭和
十五年三月、文書保存會ニ送付シ、茲ニ註明ス。
余、此ニ原辭、記録及ビ文書カ日本政府、公文書トシ、
並ニ此ノ記名稱、省入、部局、正式書類、綴
部トシ、証明ス。(是ニ文綴番号又ハ引用、實、他公
式書類又ハ綴ニ於テ該文書成規所在、公定名稱
又ハ特記ス)

$$\frac{1}{n} \left(\frac{1}{n} + \frac{1}{n} + \dots + \frac{1}{n} \right) = \frac{1}{n}$$

參議院：於審議之
在，若，公的資提撥
証

公文卷二 國文

議院庶務部
次長 岡田

明倫彙編 家範典 卷一百一十五 家範典 卷一百一十五 家範典 卷一百一十五

Lobelia

記在 貴省公的省署

Sturgis Dolan
P.O. Box 200
Judson F. Munroe